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foundation of happy marriage. It is an attitude inculcated by the immense marriage ceremonial, and it must be understood in its total complex within the social structure. Sexual adventures and compatibilities may be sought outside the marriage relationships. And so we have the *malaw* institution, a realistic concession to the impossibility of completely conditioning so primeval a force as sexual attraction to the purposes of the social structure; it also meets the difficulty of the long suckling period. As might be expected, it is married rather than unmarried people who have their lovers (*malaw*). Nevertheless, a European finds it difficult to understand that old women so frequently have liaisons with young married men and that these men so frequently seek their adventures with women who might well be their mothers or grandmothers. But in the Lovedu system it is not unnatural that our preferences and our conceptions of sexual attraction should as often as not be completely reversed.

The ideal for girlhood is chastity, but the society is rather impatient of both men and women who spy upon the love affairs of their spouses. These affairs are not matters to be talked about; but, on the other hand, despite the mocking songs sung on special occasions (the *nyali*) about deflowered girls, the society has a humane outlook towards what we call illegitimacy. Unmarried girls among pagans rarely have illegitimate children; this is more frequent among Christians. The seducer is fined twice as much as in the case of adultery with a married woman, yet only one-third the amount that is customary among Shangana-Tongs. The fine is certainly not the main deterrent; nor is the disgrace of the girl. She maintains her position in society; she is congratulated by friends and relatives; even the queen herself may, as we have seen, pay a visit to see and praise the infant. The girl has been 'spoilt', but she proudly displays her baby. She will not have offers of marriage from young men, but older men are wiser. Great blame falls upon the guilty man. It is a curious mixture of values, for there is no doubt that virginity in a girl is highly esteemed. In the marriage ceremonial, as we have seen, virginity entitles both the bride's mother and herself to special rewards. There is even a symbolical reference to it in the calabash that the bride used to take with her to her husband's home: if it was whole, it occasioned joy and was proudly worn by her younger sister; if not, the girl's people had to make amends with beer.

New values and sensitiveness to-day insist that the absence of chastity be concealed, not that its presence be publicly applauded or rewarded. Girls are still examined, especially at the *khoba*, but the matter is private; and the public display of a calabash has fallen into disuse. Yet the sins of the girl-mother are not visited on the innocent infant; it remains a thing of joy to every one. Abortions are said to be common, but the only evidence adduced is the high incidence of lung diseases (*dzvt* or *vukurgk* *nya vusadi*). A man gets *dzvt* from intercourse with a woman who has had an abortion; it is not merely the most dreaded of all diseases, a death from *dzvt* may prevent rain, and men are again and again in their lives warned against promiscuously consorting with women.

Sexual compatibility between husband and wife is a minor matter.

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578 unmanageable complication arises, unless there is agreement between all the persons interested: the son to whom the cattle should have been allotted, the daughter from whose marriage they came, the house established by these cattle, and the father himself. Tensions arise in many other ways: neglect of one wife and favouritism of another in respect of economic services, interference with the independence of the houses, and so on. Unwillingness to co-operate in the home and in fulfilling the wider group obligations is a more potent cause of trouble than adultery; and witchcraft, except as a symptom of tensions otherwise created, takes a minor place; and neither adultery nor witchcraft as such can snap the *mavyualo* bonds.

426 595 684 The character of these tensions may be briefly illustrated by the case of Mucirwa and Mara. Faced with starvation, Mara obtained cattle from Mucirwa (who was a friend, not a relative), promising, in accordance with the 'mud-stamper' institution, a daughter in exchange. In fact, this daughter, the little 'mud-stamper', as she is called, because she is too young to stamp mealies, was not yet in existence. That is not unusual in these transactions, which require that the 'mud-stamper' shall in due course be given gratuitously to the benefactor; and thereby the two lineages become cattle-linked, so that, for instance, Mara and his descendants would have to offer brides and receive cattle and Mucirwa and his descendants would offer cattle and receive brides. If Mara had no brides to offer, Mucirwa would still have to give cattle; otherwise the link might be broken. The 'mud-stamper', after reaching years of discretion, may dislike the benefactor, who is usually already old and decrepit, and that may lead to conflicts. In this instance, when Mara's daughter entered her *khobe* initiation, Mucirwa, as is customary, paid the *lovalo* goat, for a bridegroom for whom a bride is 'born' must, so to speak, nurse her and 'grow' her. Not long afterwards the 'mud-stamper' died. Mara offered another daughter and, as the girl had died before actual marriage, no further *mavyualo* was required from Mucirwa. But the substitute, having grown up, married and then deserted Mucirwa, who was already very old; she ran away to a lover, Mara himself conniving at the desertion. Mara returned some cattle to Mucirwa, thereby severing the relationship, and promised the balance when the lover had paid *mavyualo*.

684 Years passed and nothing happened. Mucirwa eventually brought an action, which Magaebia, Mara's wife, contested. She said that on the death of the 'mud-stamper' she had offered to return the cattle, but this was refused, that the substitute was forced to marry Mucirwa against her will, and that the religious ceremony was omitted. Mucirwa replied that he had already received seventeen of the twenty-four cattle (the number to which the original eight had increased), that it was thus not he who had broken the relationship, and that the religious ceremony, which for various reasons could not be held in Mara's village, had taken place at the village of Magaebia's brother. The court could not but side with Mara, but it tried hard to reduce his claim, for twenty-four cattle, it said, were an enormous number. Then recriminations broke out between Mara and his wife, which revealed a many-sided conflict in the

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family. 'That woman,' said Mara, indicating his wife, 'took her daughter from Muoirwa and gave her to the lover because I had eaten four of Muoirwa's cattle. Two of them I gave to a son of another house to help him marry and two I sold for food. My wife disagreed and deserted me. Now the lover has given seven cattle to my wife. She can pay Muoirwa with them. As for me, I wash my hands of the whole matter, because my wife has deserted me.' But Maguebia replied, 'It is you who, seeing the seven cattle arrive, urged me and my daughters to marry a wife with them. They refused and the cattle have died.' The court, realizing the nature of the conflict, said, 'We see that you, Mara, were planning things to your own advantage. But you have already paid many cattle. It will be enough, if Muoirwa agrees, that you give him four more cattle, to show that you are weeping with him, for he has lost a wife (the 'mud-stamper' who died). If you do so, we shall know that you are not bad people. As for the disagreement between you and your wife, the discussion where to get the four cattle may bring you together again. Go home and decide the matter between yourselves.' The court was right. Mara had another daughter from whose marriage he was receiving cattle and he had thought of using the cattle for himself, as the daughter, siding with her mother, had also deserted him. That would have led to further complications. It was better to give way and arrange amicably with his wife how the future claims of her house should be settled. And once this was done, the cause of the conflict disappeared.

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881 794 established. Sometimes a school in which boys receive cuts on either side of the face, it is associated also with rain ritual and with the *dzioa* or ancestral spirits who come to earth and speak in a whistling, wailing manner.

794 An interesting feature of the Northern Transvaal is the tendency for private people, strangers from tribes who have certain schools, to set up schools with the permission of the chiefs in areas where they are not known. People are always willing to join them, and they are a source of great profit to the holder. Thus the Dikxale of the High-veld have no *Asomana*; but a Narene man who has come to live in the area has brought *Asomana* drums and holds schools to which many Dikxale go.

836 837 Sex Morality and Marriage. Sex morality among Lowveld tribes conforms to the general pattern found over South Africa in having pre-marital sex intercourse as an institution fully approved of by society as long as no children are born. Furthermore, adultery, which is an everyday occurrence, is not looked upon as serious in any way unless the parties are indiscreet and are discovered. Widows, especially, are recognized as easy prey to male advances even though they have been inherited by the husband's brother. The fine attached to adultery is usually one head of cattle; but the general laxness is better illustrated in the attitude found among the Narene, where there is no fine attached to adultery, though a man caught in the act will [195] send something to the husband to beg pardon. In court, the bare word of a woman accusing a man of adultery is always accepted. [197] Seduction of a young girl is a much more serious offence than adultery, with the correspondingly higher fine attached to it of two head of cattle and a goat, and realization that marriage is much more than a sexual relationship between the parties concerned is shown in the fact that far from trying to promote marriage between the parties concerned, the parents of the girl will refuse any alliance with a boy whose people they do not consider suitable.

582 [71] Like all Sotho peoples, the Lowveld tribes have the institution of preferred marriage with certain relatives, in contrast to the Zulu-Xhosa with whom marriage with any related person is taboo. Fully 40 per cent. of all marriages are, in our Lowveld area, with the